

A Selective Bibliography of Exploration Relating to the United States

By William H. Goetzmann
University of Texas at Austin

Because of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial celebrations the history of North American exploration is undergoing a renaissance. Thus it is appropriate that during this bicentennial year we should create a bibliography of works that is useful and selective rather than exhaustive, especially since it is aimed at the public as well as the scholar or collector.

The scope of this bibliography is confined to voyages and expeditions that impinge on the United States and its interests in Alaska and the Far North from the early Spanish and English voyages down to 1908, though I have also included the Vikings, which have long been a serious interest of mine. Due to length restrictions, I have also not included American expeditions to Africa, Asia and South America. Canadian exploration, an exciting field for future work, has also been excluded. But extensive coverage of this subject can be found in William H. Goetzmann and Glyndwr Williams, *The Atlas of North American Exploration: From the Norse Voyages to the Race to the Pole*, New York, Prentice Hall, 1992. Many volumes on Canadian exploration can be found in The Champlain Society publications in Toronto, Canada.

The history of American exploration has been one of the mainstreams of American history since the publication of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of the United States*, Boston, 8 vols., Houghton-Mifflin, 1884-1998. Over the years exploration history has had political implications, especially in the contested Far West and in relation to U.S.-Mexican and Canadian-American boundary negotiations. But at the same time it has been characterized by the romance of adventure; its form usually a narrative chronicle of men versus nature. It features heroes and the heroic. This was underscored by Bernard De Voto who characterized the Rocky Mountain explorer of the mid-19th Century, Tom "Broken Hand" Fitzpatrick as "The Wing-shod Fitzpatrick," presumably a reference to the Greek God Hermes. The heroic activities of American explorers like Daniel Boone of course underscored American nationalism just as Richard

Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1598-1600, celebrates its explorers and discoverers, vis a vis those of rivals Spain and Portugal, a work that is continued in the present day by London's Hakluyt Society.

Exploration is not discovery. It is the seeking, often unglamorous, of the “new,” with discoveries as happenstances along the way. It is, however, usually purposeful and its aims governed by the culture from which the explorer left. However, exploration is full of surprises, as when the mid-19th Century American African explorer Paul Du Chaillu first discovered—a gorilla! The gorilla died on its voyage from West Africa to New England, Du Chaillu went back and captured another specimen of the creature that also died. Dr. Jeffreys Wyman of Harvard dissected the unfortunate beast and declared it non-human. This reminds us that exploration also is focused on science and the existing concepts that yield the intellectual and cultural history of a people. In my own works, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*, (N.Y., Knopf, 1966) and *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery*, (NY, Viking, 1982), I have been primarily interested in the intellectualizing of exploration and its context as well as the periodization of the characteristic kinds of exploration. Thus, as far as post-Columbian exploration is concerned, at least two stylistic periods of exploration took place. The first age of discovery was oceanic and looked for new lands and peoples to conquer, or at least to find exotic things like gold, spices and ivory to enrich the mother country, as well as spreading the Christian religion. Then there occurred a second age that operated with the benefit of science, perhaps beginning in the late 18th Century with Captain Cook's voyages. I have called this “The Second Great Age of Discovery” that ends with the penetration of outer space—a Third Age of Discovery.

This bibliography thus provides an example of exploration in the first and second ages or those of terrestrial exploration.

Part I. Atlases and General Works

The exploration literature relating to the United States is perhaps more abundant than that of any other nation except Britain and Spain—both proprietors of vast empires.

Perhaps the best place to start for the U.S. is with William H. Goetzmann and Glyndwr Williams, *The Atlas of North American Exploration*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1992 and a good road atlas. Other important atlases are Seymour Swartz and Ralph Eherenberg, *The Mapping of America*, Abrams, NY, 1980, repr., Wellfleet, NJ, 2001, Eric Newby, *The World Atlas of Exploration*, Artists House, London, 1975, repr., 1982, Phillips' *Atlas of World Exploration*, London 1996, *The Times Atlas of World Exploration*, HarperCollins, NY, 1991, Dennis Reinhartz and C.C. Colley, *Mapping the American Southwest*, Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX, 1987.

There are several useful series, the most recent of which is John Logan Allen, *The Exploration of North America*, 3 vols., U. Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1997. For Texas see Ron C. Tyler, *The Handbook of Texas*, 6 vols., Texas State Historical Association, Austin, TX, and available online, Rueben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1875*, 22 vols., reprint, Winwood, 1998, Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West*, 5 vols., Institute of Historical Cart., San Francisco, 1957-1963, Leroy R. Hafen, *The Mountain Men and Fur Trade of the Far West*, 10 vols., Arthur H. Clark, Glendale, CA, 1965-72, repr., 2001, Adelaide R. Hasse, *Reports of Explorations Printed in the Documents of the United States Government*, NY, reprint 1969. This is an indispensable guide to the many 19th Century published reports (with copious illustrations) that appear in the U.S. Congress, House and Senate Documents Series. Another important bibliography of late 19th Century exploration is Lawrence F. Schmeckebier, *Catalogue and Index of the Publications of the Hayden, King, Powell and Wheeler Surveys*, Northwest Books, Portland, OR, 1904, repr., 1970. Also see Raymond Howego, *Encyclopedia of Exploration to 1800*, Hordern House, Potts Point, Australia, 2003, Howard R. Lamar, *The New Encyclopedia of the American West*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1998, and William H. Goetzmann, *The World Explorers Series*, 33 vols., Chelsea House, NY, 1991—that includes the major American explorers. And finally, William H. Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men: America and the Second Great Age of Discovery*, revival reprint, Texas State Historical Association, Austin, TX, 1995, treats the whole of American exploration by land and around the world concluding with Robert E. Peary's attaining the North Pole in 1909 finally confirmed by Thomas D. Davies of the Foundation for the Promotion of the Art of Navigation in 1990 by using modern photogrammetry.

Part IIa. The Discovery and Early Exploration of America

See Goetzmann and Williams, *The Atlas of North American Exploration*, cited above. Two series are important, Ruben Gold Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, cited above, and the *March of American Facsimile Series*, Ann Arbor, Michigan, University Microfilm, 1966 that includes most of the early classical explorers' original accounts.

For the discoveries of present day United States see Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The European Discovery of America: The Northern Voyages*, Oxford Press, NY, 1971, *The Southern Voyages, 1492-1616*, NY, Oxford, 1974, and a one-volume version, Samuel Eliot Morrison, *The Great Explorers: The European Discovery of America*, NY, Oxford ,

1978, repr. 1986. See Charles Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600-1800*, NY, Knopf, 1965, repr., Penguin, 1992, for New York Exploration. For the English point of view, see David Beers Quinn, *England and the Discovery of America, 1481-1620*, NY, Random House, 1974. Also see W.P. Cummings R.A. Skelton and D.B. Quinn, *The Discovery of North America*, NY, American Heritage, 1972, and Cummings, S. Hillier, D.B. Quinn and G. Williams, ed., *The Exploration of North America, 1630-1776*, Putnam, NY, 1974. Also see James A. Williamson, *The Age of Drake*, London, A. & C. Black, 1938, repr., 1965, Samuel Bawlf, *The Secret Voyage of Sir Francis Drake, 1577-1580*, Walker & Co., NY, 2003. This book has new information on Drake's exploration of the American Northwest Coast. And Philip Barbour, *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA, 1964. For the Viking question, Gwyn Jones, *The Norse Atlantic Saga*, Oxford Univ. Press, NY reprint 1986 and Farley Mowat, *Westviking*, McClelland & Stewart, Toronto, reprint 1973 are the two major works. The two authors do not agree. Jones is more scholarly, Mowat more imaginative and analytical. Lawrence Wroth, *The Voyages of Giovanni da Verrazzano, 1524-1528*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1970 is the story of an Italian explorer who discovered the Hudson River. For Spain, see Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, Scribner, NY, 1916, repr. Barnes & Noble, 1995, and his *Coronado, Knight of Pueblo and Plains*, Univ. NM Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1964 and John and Jeannette Varner, trans. and eds., Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Florida of the Inca: The Fabulous De Soto Story*, Univ. TX. Press, Austin, TX, 1962. This beautiful volume should be supplemented by John R. Swanton, ed., *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 1985. Also see Alfred B. Thomas, trans. and ed., *After Coronado: Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1696-1727*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1935, and David Weber, *The Spanish Frontier in North America*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1992, Frederick Webb Hodge and T.H. Lewis, eds., *Spanish Exploration in the Interior of North America*, repr., University of Texas Press, Denis Reinhartz and Gerald Saxon, *The Mapping of the Explorers into the Greater Southwest*, Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX, 1987, and Edward Bourne, *Spain in America, 1450-1580*, Harper & Bros., NY, 1904, repr. Barnes & Noble, NY, 1962, William C. Foster, *Spanish Expeditions into Texas, 1689-1768*, Univ. of Texas Press, Austin, TX, 1995, and Warren Cook, *Floodtide of Empire: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1973. A good recent overview of the discovery period is John Logan Allen, ed., *A New World Disclosed*, Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1997 (see above, Vol. I).

Some firsthand accounts of Spanish explorers are also essential. Pedro de Castañeda, *The Journey of Coronado*, repr., Dover, San Francisco, 1990, Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of Escalante's Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776*, Univ. of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1950, Bolton, ed. And trans., *Anza's California Expeditions*, 5 vols., Russell&Russell, NY, 1966, Richard Pouvade, *Anza Conquers the Desert: The Anza Expedition from Mexico to California and the Founding of San Francisco, 1774-1776*, Copley Publications, San Diego, CA, 1971, and Cyclone Covey, ed. And trans., *Cabeza de Vaca's Adventures in the Unknown Interior of America*, Univ. of NM Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1993.

French explorers in the United States are discussed in Timothy Severin, *Explorers of the Mississippi*, repr. U. of Minnesota Press, 2002, and Abraham Nasatir, *Before Lewis*

and Clark, Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1990. Also John A. Caraso, *The Mississippi Valley Frontier: The Age of French Exploration and Settlement*, Boss-Merrill, Indianapolis, 1966, Robert S. Weddle, ed., *La Salle, The Mississippi and the Gulf, Three Documents*, Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX, 1987, and Lawrence J. Burpee, ed., *Journals and Letters of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes de la Verendrye and His Sons*, Champlain Society, Toronto, 1927, Elizabeth John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds*, Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX, 1975, repr., Univ. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1981. Robert S. Weddle, *The French Thorn: Rival Explorers in the Spanish Sea, 1682-1762*, Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX, 1991. Also see Robert S. Weddle, *Spanish Sea, the Gulf of Mexico in North American Discovery, 1500-1685*, Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX, 1985, and Robert S. Weddle, *Changing Tides, 1763-1803*, Texas A&M Press, College Station, TX, 1995.

Part II b. Early British and American Continental Explorers

See Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men*, op cit., John B. Brebner, *The Explorers of North America*, A&C Black, London, 1933 and repr., AMS Press, 2003, Bernard De Voto, *The Course of Empire*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA, 1952, repr., U. Nebraska, 1983, Clarence Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheney Region, 1650-1674*, Arthur H. Clark, Cleveland, 1912. Two books on naturalist explorers are Joseph Kastner, *A Species of Eternity*, Knopf, NY, 1977 and John Moring, *Early American Naturalists: Exploring the American West, 1804-1900*, Cooper Square, NY, 2002. An extremely important book is Frederick W. Howay, ed., *The Voyages of the "Columbia" to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790, and 1790 to 1793*, MHS, Boston, MA, 1941, Repr. OHS, Portland, OR, 1990. The Discovery of the Columbia River relates to Robin Fisher, *Vancouver's Voyage: Charting the Northwest Coast, 1791-1795*, U. of Washington Press, Seattle, WA, , 1992, and W.K. Lamb, ed., *The Voyage of George Vancouver, 1791-96*, Hakluyt Society, London, 1984, James R. Gibson, *Otter Skins, Boston Ships and China Goods: The Maritime Fur Trade of the Northwest Coast, 1785-1841*, U. of Washington Press, Seattle, WA, 1992, repr., 1999. Also see Richard Glover, ed., *David Thomson's Narrative*, Champlain Society, Toronto, Canada, 1916, repr., 1962. Thwaites, op. cit., John Logan Allen, *A Continent Defined*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1999, op. cit. This book is especially good in its coverage of early American explorers. Also see Paul A. Wallace, *Thirty Thousand Miles with John Haeckewelder*, U. of Pittsburg, PA, 1958, repr., Wennawoods Pub., Lewisburg, PA, 1998, chronicles an unusual explorer, as does Wallace's biography of Conrad Weiser, the prototype of Daniel Boone, *Conrad Weiser 1696-1760. Friend of Colonist and Mohawk*, U. of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1945, repr. Wennawoods Pub., 1996. The adventures of other Mississippi explorers include W.P. Cumming, ed., *The Discoveries of John Lederer*, U. of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 1958, and Christopher Gist, *Journals*, William M. Darlington, ed., U. of Pittsburgh, 1983 and Albert T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Westward Movement, 1741-1782*, Arthur H. Clark, Cleveland, OH, 1926, and repr., AMS, NY, 1971, and Kenneth Bailey, *Christopher Gist: Colonial Frontiersman, Explorer and Indian Agent*, Archon Books, Hamden, CT, 1976. Lewis Thomas, *Jefferson and the Opening of the American West*, NY, 1996 backgrounds the vast literature on Lewis and Clark. The first account of the Lewis and Clark expedition is

Patrick Gass, *Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery*, Printed by Zadock Cramer, for David M'Keehan, Pittsburgh, 1807, repr. 1958, Carol L. MacGregor, ed., *The Journals of Patrick Gass*, Mountain Press, Missoula, MT, 1997. The first official account, written by Nicholas Biddle and edited by Paul Allen, was *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark*, Bradford & Inskeep, Philadelphia, PA, 1814. Among the many reprints of their journals are Frank Bergon, ed., *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*, Pb. Penguin, NY, 2003, Bernard De Voto's *Journals of Lewis and Clark (Abridged)*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA, 1953, and Ruben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, repr. Arno, NY, 1969. The authoritative text is Gary Moulton, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. 13 vols., Atlas, U. of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE, 1971-1986. Also available are Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition With Related Documents and Notes*, 2 vols., U. of Illinois Press, Urbana, IL, 1978, and James J. Holmberg, ed., *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 2002. The three best books on Lewis and Clark are John Logan Allen, *Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest*, U. of Illinois, Urbana, IL, 1975, James Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1984, and Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West*, NY, 1996, repr. 1997. For an unusual explorer, see Maria Audubon, John Woodhouse Audubon, *Audubon's Western Journal, 1849-50*, U. of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ, 1984 and John Bartram, Lewis Evans and Conrad Weiser, *A Journey From Pennsylvania to Onandaga in 1743*, The Imprint Society, Barre, MA, 1973. Maria Audubon, *Audubon's Journals*, 2 vols., Dover, NY, 1897, repr., 1986, Christopher Irmscher, ed., *John James Audubon's Writing and Drawings*, Library of America, NY, 1999. John Francis McDermott, *Audubon in the West*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1965. The best Audubon biography is Shirley Streshinsky, *Audubon, Life and Art in the American Wilderness*, Villard Books, NY, 1993. The definitive work on the exploration of the trans-Mississippi West is William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire: The Explorer and the Scientist in the Winning of the American West*, NY, 1966, repr. Texas State Historical Association, Austin, TX, 2000. Also see Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1959, repr., Texas State Historical Association, Austin, TX, 1991 and Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men*, op. cit.

Among the military expeditions are those of Zebulon Pike and Major Stephen H. Long. Pike's *Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi and Through the Western Parts of Louisiana to the Sources of the Arkansas, Kansas, La Platte and Pierre Juan Rivers... During the Years 1805, 1806 and 1807, and a tour through the Interior Parts of New Spain, When Conducted through those Provinces*, was published in Philadelphia in 1810 before Biddle and Allen's *History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. For a modern reprint see Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike With Letters and Related Documents*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1966. A paperback edition with Pike's maps is Elliott Coues, *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, 2 vols., Dover, NY, 1987. See also Dan Flores, ed., *Jefferson and Southwestern Exploration, the Freeman and Curtis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman OK, 1984. Major Stephen H. Long's expeditions were written up in the following: Edwin James, *Account of an*

Expedition From Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains, Performed in the Years 1819 and '20, 2 vols, Atlas, Philadelphia, 1822, 1823., repr. Maxine Benson, ed., *From Pittsburg to the Rocky Mountains*..... abridged, Fulcrum Press, Golden, CO, 1988, Lucile M. Kane, June D. Holmquist and Carolyn Gilman, eds., *The Northern Expeditions of Stephen H. Long, the Journals of 1817 and 1823*, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, MN, 1978, and Roger Nichols and Patrick L. Halley, *Stephen H. Long and American Frontier Exploration*, U. of Delaware Press, Newark, DE., 1980.

For much of the early 19th Century American exploration was conducted by the fur hunters or Rocky Mountain men and the U.S. Army Topographical Engineers. For the mountain men, see Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*, op. cit., Goetzmann, *The Mountain Man*, NY, 1978 and *Exploring the American West, 1803-1879*, Handbook, 116, National Park Service Washington, D.C., 1982. Also see Robert Utley, *A Life Wild and Perilous: Mountain Men and the Paths to the Pacific*, Holt & Co., NY, 1997, Paul C. Phillips, *The Fur Trade*, 2 vols., U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1961 and an old standby, Hiram Chittenden, *A History of the Fur Trade of the Far West*, 2 vols., repr. Stanford U., Palo Alto, CA, 1954. An indispensable work is Henry R. Wagner, Charles Camp and Robert Becker, *The Plains and the Rockies: A Critical Biography of Exploration, Adventure, and Travel in the American West, 1800-1865*, John Howell Books, San Francisco, 1982. Also see Dale L. Morgan, ed., *The West of William Ashley*, Old West Publications, Denver, CO, 1964, Morgan, *Jedediah Smith and the Opening of the West*, repr. U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1964, Leroy Hafen, Ed., *Biographies of the Mountain Men*, 12 vols., Arthur Clark, Glendale, CA, 2965-72, Gloria G. Cline, *Exploring the Great Basin*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1963, James Ronda, *Astoria and Empire*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1990, Philip Ashton Rollins, ed., *The Discovery of the Oregon Trail: Robert Stuart's Narratives of His Overland Trip Eastward from Astoria in 1812-13*, Charles Scribner's Sons, NY, 1935. Bernard De Voto, *Across the Wide Missouri*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA, 1947, repr., 1987, Richard Oglesby, *Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1963, Cline, op. cit., *Peter Skene Ogden and the Hudson's Bay Company*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1974, Zenas Leonard, *Adventures of a Mountain Man*, repr. U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1978, Leroy Hafen, *Broken Hand, the Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick, Mountain Man*, repr. Lincoln, NE, Burton Harris, *John Colter, His Years in the Rockies*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, repr. 1993, *The Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, repr. 1984, Richard M. Clokey, *William H. Ashley*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1980, Charles L. Camp, ed., *James Clyman, Frontiersman*, Champoeg Press, Portland, OR, 1960. Also see repr., Missoula, MT, 1984. David Coyner, *The Lost Trappers*, Hurst, NY, 1847, repr. David Weber, ed., Albuquerque, NM, 1995, Robert Nitske trans. and Savoie Lottenville, ed., *Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, Travels in North America, 1822-1824*, repr. U. Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1973. A must see is Maximilian, Prinz zu Weid, *Travels in the Interior of North America During the Years 1832-1834*, Koln, Germany, repr. 2001. The same narrative is in Thwaites', op.cit., He followed the artist George Catlin. See George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs and Condition of the North American Indians*, 2 vols., Tosswill & Myers, NY, 1841, repr., Dover, NY, 1989. Also see Brian W. Dippie, *Catlin and his Contemporaries*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1990. Prince Maximilian went up

the Missouri to the Mandan villages with Karl Bodmer, the artist who painted the best Indian scenes and portraits of all time. Also see William H. Goetzmann, Introduction, David Hunt, M. Gallagher and William Orr., *Karl Bodmer's America*, Joslyn Art Museum and U. of Nebraska Press, Omaha, NE, 1984. This beautiful book reproducing Bodmer's stunning watercolors was conceived, titled and focused by William H. Goetzmann, Hunt and Gallagher (Enron's "authors") wrote the captions, Orr wrote an important biography of Bodmer. Another beautiful work on Maximilian and Bodmer is David Thomas and Karen Ronnefeldt, eds., *People of the First Man*, E.P. Dutton, NY, 1976. Another explorer artist was Alfred Jacob Miller. See Marvin C. Ross, *The West of Alfred Jacob Miller*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1968 and Mae Reed Porter, *Odessa Davenport, Scotsman in Buckskin, Sir William Drummond Stewart and the Rocky Mountain Fur Trade*, Hastings NY, 1963. Max Moorhead, ed., Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 2 vols., U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1954, repr. Lippincott, Wiley & Putnam, Philadelphia, PA, 1962. Maurice G. Fulton, ed., *Diary and Letters of Joseph Greggs*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1941, Bil Gilbert, *Westering Man, the Life of Joseph Walker*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1985, E.A. Rich, *Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-25 and 1825-26*, Hudson's Bay Reprint Series, London, 1950, J. Cecil Alter, *Jim Bridger*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1982, and David Weber, *The Taos Trappers, the Fur Trade in the Far Southwest, 1540-1846*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1982.

Part II c

After Lewis and Clark, Pike and Long, the military played an even more important part in mid-19th Century exploration—chiefly in the West. The place to begin is William H. Goetzmann, *Army Exploration in the American West, 1803-1863*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1959, with new intro repr. TSHA, Austin, TX, 1991. Also see Edward S. Wallace, *The Great Reconnaissance, Soldiers, Artists and Scientists on the Frontier, 1848-1861*, Little Brown, Boston, MA, 1855. Also note Adelaide Hasse, Bibliography, op. cit. in Part I. All of the military expeditions are reported in the House and Senate Serial series. Only a selection of these can be included here. Perhaps the most important of these are John C. Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains in the Year 1842 and to Oregon and North California in the Years, 1843-44, 28th Cong, 2nd Sess, Senate Exec Doc 74, Serial 461*. This was the most widely reprinted report of its time, and helped to start the Oregon Trail stampede, as well as the Mormon move west. See also Donald Jackson and Mary Lee Spence, eds., *The Expeditions of John Charles Frémont*, 3 vols., and map portfolio, U. of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1970. William Brandon, *The Men and the Mountain: Frémont's Fourth Expedition*, Putnams, NY, 1955, Solomon Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West, with Col. Frémont's Last Expedition Across the Rocky Mountains...*, Derby and Jackson, NY, 1856. LeRoy Hafen and Ann Hafen, eds., *Frémont's Fourth Expedition: Documentary Account of the Disaster of 1848-1849 with Diaries, Letters and Reports by the Participants in the Tragedy*, Clark, Glendale, CA, 1960, Randolph Barnes Marcy, *Exploration of the Red River of Louisiana, 32nd Cong., 2nd Session, Sen. Doc. 54, Serial 666, Washington, 1853*. Perhaps the most extensive army exploration in the West were A.A. Humphreys and G.K. Warren, *Reports of Explorations and Surveys*

to Ascertain the Most Practicable and Economical Route For a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, 1853-56, 12 vols., in 13, final atlas vol. Washington, 1853-1861. Another important government publication is William H. Emory, *Report on the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey*, 3 vols., 34th Cong. 1st Sess. H. Exec. Doc. 135, Serial 861-63, Washington, D.C., 1857-59, and repr. William H. Goetzmann, ed, 3 vols., TSHA, Austin, TX, 1997. But be sure to see John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua, Connected With the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission During the Years 1850, '51, '52 and '53*, 2 vols., Appleton, NY, 1854, repr., 2 vols., Rio Grande Press, Chicago, IL, 1965. Also see Dawn Hall, ed., *Drawing the Borderline: Artist-Explorers and the U.S.-Mexico Boundary Survey*, The Albuquerque Museum, Albuquerque, NM, 1996, P.B.

Another series is Charles Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition During the Years, 1838-1842*, 5 vols., C. Sherman, Philadelphia, 1845. See especially vol. IV for exploration of Hawaii and the Pacific Coast overland from the Straits of Juan de Fuca to San Francisco. This was an important expedition in re: the Oregon boundary question. A splendid secondary account is William Stanton, *The Great United States Exploring Expedition of 1838-1842*, U. Cal. Press, Berkeley, CA, 1975, and also see Herman Viola and Carolyn Margolis, eds., *Magnificent Voyagers, The U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842*, Smithsonian Press, Washington, D.C., 1985, and Herman J. Viola, *Exploring the West*, Smithsonian Press, Washington, D.C., 1987. For further bibliographical data see Daniel C. Haskell, *The United States Exploring Expedition, 1838-1842 and its Publications, 1844-1874*, 1942, repr. NY, 1968. Another important work is Edgely Todd, ed., *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1952. An account of the first exploration of the Grand Canyon is Joseph Christmas Ives, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West*, 36 Cong., 1st Sess., H.Doc. 90, 1861, repr. Da Capo Press, NY, 1969ed. Kevin C. McKinney, Denver, 2002, CD ROM, and Ben Huseman, *Wild River, Timeless Canyons [early paintings of the Grand Canyon from the Lt. Joseph Christmas Ives expedition]*, U. of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ, 1995. Howard Stansbury, *Exploration and Survey of the Valley of the Great Salt Lake of Utah*, U.S. Senate, Special Sess., March 1851, Ex. Doc. 3, Phila.. PA, 1852, repr., Brigham D. Madson, ed., *Exploring the great Salt Lake: The Stansbury Expedition of 1849-1850*, Brigham Young Univ. Press, Salt Lake City, UT, 1988. Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854*, Clark, Glendale, CA, 1938, William H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance, from Fort Leavenworth in Missouri to San Diego in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*, 30 Cong., 1st Sess., H. Exec. Doc, No. 41, Washington, D.C., 1848. For repr. Ross Calvin, ed., *Lieutenant Emory Reports: A Reprint of Lieutenant W.H. Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, U. of NM Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1951. Grant Foreman, ed., *Randolph Barnes Marcy, Adventure on the Red River*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1937. William Lewis Manley, *Death Valley in '49*, Pacific Vine and Tree Co., San Jose, CA, 1894, repr. The Narrative Press, Santa Barbara, CA, 2001, Capt. John N. Macomb, *Report of an Exploring Expedition From Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Junction of the Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West*, GPO, Washington, D.C., 1876. Leroy Hafen and Anne Hafen eds., Gwin Harris Heap, *Central Route to the Pacific with Related Material on Railroad Explorations and*

Indian Affairs by Edward F. Beale, Thomas Hart Benton, Kit Carson and Col. E.A. Hitchcock....1854, repr. Clark, Glendale CA,. 1957. Robert Hine, *Bartlett's West: Drawing the Mexican Boundary*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1968., W. Eugene Hollon, *Beyond the Cross Timbers and the Travels of Randolph B. Marcy, 1812-1887*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1855. Colonel Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border*, Harper Bros., NY, 1866, repr. Lippincott, Philadelphia, PA, 1963., William Turrentine Jackson, *Wagon Roads West....1846-1869*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1979., Frank McNitt, ed., *Navajo Expedition: Journal of Military Reconnaissance from Santa Fe, New Mexico to the Navajo Country Made in 1849* by Lt. James H. Simpson, Norman, OK, 1964., William F. Reynolds, *Report on the Exploration of the Yellowstone and the Country Drained By That River, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Doc. 77, 1868.* Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Narrative Journal of Travels... from Detroit... to the Sources of the Mississippi River*, Albany, NY, 1821., Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves, *Report of an Expedition Down the Zuni and Colorado Rivers, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Doc. 59, 1853.* George Stewart, *The California Trail*, NY, 1962., Gouverneur K. Warren, *Memoir to Accompany the Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean...., 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Sen. Doc. 78, 1859., R.S. Williamson Report of a Reconnaissance of a Route Through the Sierra Nevada, by the Upper Sacramento, 3rd Cong., 1st Sess., Part II, Sen. Doc. 47, 1838-50., John Work, *Fur Brigades to the Buenaventura: John Work's California Expedition, 1832-33*, San Francisco, CA, 1945.*

Part III Post Civil War Exploration

Much of the exploration of the United States after the Civil War was undertaken by four great western surveys sponsored by the U.S. government, i.e., those of Powell, King, Hayden and Wheeler. The best book on this subject is Richard Bartlett, *Great Surveys of the American West*, Norman, OK, 1962. But for more detail see Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*, op. cit., and especially pp. 355-389 on the important California Geologic Survey. Also see Thomas Manning, *Government in Science: The U.S. Geological Survey, 1867-1894*, U. of Kentucky Press, Lexington, KY, 1967.

The first of the sweeping explorations and surveys was not a federal undertaking but a state project harkening back to the state geological surveys in the East in the first half of the 19th Century. For a prototype see Michele L. Aldrich, *New York State Natural History Survey, 1836-1842*, Ithaca, NY, 2000, or Keene Ferguson, *Geology and Politics in Frontier Texas, 1845-1909*, U. of Texas Press, Austin, TX, 1967. The best books on The California Geological Survey—a dramatic exploration of California's Sierras, are Clarence King, *Mountaineering in the Sierra Nevada*, J.R. Osgood, Boston, MA, 1872, repr. Frances Farquhar, NY, 1935, and Lippincott, Philadelphia, PA, 1960. Edwin T. Brewster, *Life and Letters of Josiah Dwight Whitney*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA, 1909, and William H. Brewer, *Up and Down in California*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1930.

The "Great Surveys" begin with the army sponsored Wheeler Surveys beginning in 1869. See Lt. George M. Wheeler, *United States Geographical Surveys West of the One Hundredth Meridian*, Washington, Annual Reports, 1869-1883 and *Final Reports I-VII* (1889) plus 14 Unclassified Publications. The only biography of Wheeler is Doris O.

Dowdy, *George Montague Wheeler: the Man and the Myth*, Ohio Univ. Press, Athens, OH, 1993. This is an exposé of Wheeler more than a biography. Clarence King's survey was confined to the western 40th parallel and was called *United States Geological Exploration of the Fortieth Parallel, Annual Reports to the Secretary of War*, 8 vols., 1871-1878 and, an important 7 vols., of Final Reports including King, Systematic Geology, plus an atlas. The best biography of King is Thurman Wilkins, *Clarence King, a Biography*, revised and enlarged, U. of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1988. But also see Asbury Harpending, *The Great Diamond Hoax*, James H. Barry, San Francisco, 1913, repr. U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1958. Ferdinand V. Hayden's Survey was entitled *United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories, Annual Reports, Washington, D.C. 1867-1878*, and *Thirteen Final Reports, Washington, D.C. 1873-1890*, plus a long series of bulletins down to 1882 and eleven "Unclassified Publications" all Washington, D.C. 1872-1877. The most important of Hayden's surveys were in 1871 and 1872 when, with a photographer and later the artist Thomas Moran he entered and explored the Yellowstone region. William H. Jackson's photos and Thomas Moran's paintings helped earlier lobbyists and the lobbyist, N.P. Langford create the world's first national wilderness park. Hayden was not the discoverer of the Yellowstone Park area. The best account of that is N.P. (Nathaniel Pitt) Langford, *The Discovery of Yellowstone Park, 1870*, NP, 1905, repr. Pb U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1972. Also see Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*, op. cit. pp. 401-406. There are two recent biographies of Hayden: Mike Foster, *Strange Genius: the Life of Ferdinand Vandever Hayden*, Roberts Rinehart, Univ. of Colorado Press, Boulder, CO, 1994., and James G. Cassidy, *Ferdinand V. Hayden, Entrepreneur of Science*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 2000. Other books that relate to Yellowstone are Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran, Artist of the Mountains*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1998 and Aubrey L. Haines, *The Yellowstone Story, A History of Our First National Park*, repr. Univ. Press of Colorado, Boulder, CO, 1977. An account of Hayden's excursion in Jackson Hole south of Yellowstone is Orrin H. Bonney and Lorraine G. Bonney, *Battle Drums and Geysers*, Sage Books the Swallow Press, Chicago, IL, 1970.

John Wesley Powell, the fourth of the "Great Survey" leaders began by a daring expedition down the raging Colorado River in 1869. His account which conflates his two trips down the river is John Wesley Powell, *Report Upon the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries*, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1875, repr., Dover Press, NY, 1967. A good account of Powell's second trip down the Colorado is Frederick Dellenbaugh, *A Canyon Voyage*, Putnam & Sons, NY, 1908, repr., Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, pb 1962. Powell's exploits are recorded as *Reports of the United States Geological and Geographical Survey of the Rocky Mountain Region*. They begin with his accounts of his first two Colorado River expeditions printed as *42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., H.R. Misc. Doc. 173 and 43rd Cong., 1st Sess., H.R. Misc., Doc. No. 265, 1874 and Exploration of the Colorado River of the West and its Tributaries, Explored in 1870, 1871 and 1872*, under the direction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., 1875, and continue with a series of classic "Final Reports" which include his *Report on the Uinta Mountains*, 1876, G.K. Gilbert's *Report on the Henry Mountains*, 1880, and Powell's important *Report on the Lands of the Arid Regions of the United States: With a More Detailed Account of the Lands of Utah*, 1877. For Powell

and the eventual creation of the United States Geological Survey and the Bureau of American Ethnology see Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire*, op. cit., pp. 530-601. The best biographies of Powell are William C. Darrah, *Powell of the Colorado*, Princeton, NJ, 1962, Wallace Stegner, *Beyond the Hundredth Meridian*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA, 1954, and repr., Penguin, NY, 1992. And most recently, Donald Worster, *A River Running West: The Life of John Wesley Powell*, Oxford U. Press, NY, 2001.

Part IV American Expeditions to Alaska and the Arctic

There have been many American expeditions beyond the lower forty-eight states. For most of these see Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men*, op. cit., also see Goetzmann and Williams, *Atlas of North American Exploration*, op. cit., Part I.

For Alaskan exploration see Raymond Fisher, *Bering's Voyages, Whither and Why?*, U. of Washington, Seattle, WA, 1977, James B. Masterson and Helen Brower, *Bering's Successors, 1745-1795*, London, 1984, Hector Chevigny, *Russian America: The Great Alaskan Venture, 1741-1867*, Viking Press, NY, 1965, repr., Binford & Mort, 1998, B. Dmytryshyn, ed., Thomas Vaughan and E.A. Crownhart-Vaughan, trans., *To Siberia and Russian America: Three Centuries of Russian Eastward Expansion, 1558-1867*, 3 vols., Oregon Historical Society, Portland, OR, 1988, James R. Gibson, *Imperial Russia in Frontier America*, NY, 1976, Stewart Tompkins, *Alaska: Promyshlniick and Sourdough*, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1945.

Accounts of American expeditions are as follows. Morgan B. Sherwood, *The Exploration of Alaska, 1865-1900*, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, CT, 1965., Henry T. Allen, *Report of an Expedition to the Copper, Tenana and Koyukuk Rivers in the Territory of Alaska in the Year 1885*, GPO, Washington, D.C., 1887. Frederick Schwatka, *Along Alaska's Great River*, London, 1883 and Schwatka, *Compilation of Narratives of Exploration in Alaska*, GPO, Washington, D.C., 1900, Melody Webb, *Yukon, The Last Frontier*, U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1993, Pierre Berton, *Klondike Fever*, Knopf, NY, 1958, repr., 1984, William H. Goetzmann and Kay Sloan, *The Harriman Expedition to Alaska, 1899*, Viking Press, NY, 1982, repr., Princeton, NJ, 1983, Allen A. Wright, *Prelude to the Bonanza: The Discovery and Exploration of the Yukon*, Sidney Gray's Pub., Victoria, Canada, 1976, John Edwards Casswell, *Arctic Frontiers: United States Expeditions in the Far North*, U. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1956, Antoinette Shalkop, ed., *Exploration in Alaska: Captain Cook Commemorative Lectures, June-November 1978*, U. of Alaska Press, Anchorage, AK, 1980., Josiah Edward Spurr, *Through the Yukon Gold Diggings: a Narrative of Personal Travel*, Eastern Publishing, Boston, MA, 1900, and Spurr, *The Exploration of the Kuskoquim River and the Valley of the Ten Thousand Smokes*, privately printed, Boston, MA, c. 1900. And *Report of the Cruise of the U.S. Revenue Cutter Bear and the Overland Expedition, Nov. 27, 1897 to Sept. 13, 1898*, GPO, Washington D.C., 1899.

Part V American Arctic Explorers

See Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men*, op. cit., pp. 423-460. William Henry Gilder, *Schwatka's Search*, Charles Scribner's Sons, NY, 1881. Richard Gilder of the New York Herald accompanied Lt. Schwatka on his 3,251 mile trek across northern

Canada in 1878 in which they discovered the remains of Sir John Franklin's disaster in 1845 that had been long sought by the British Admiralty. Also see Josephine Diebitsch Peary, *My Arctic Journal: A Year Among Ice-Fields and Eskimos, With an Account of the Great White Journey Across Greenland by Robert E. Peary*, Contemporary Publishing Co., NY, 1894. Robert E. Peary, *The North Pole: Its Discovery in 1909 Under the Auspices of the Peary Arctic Club*, Frederick Stokes Co., NY, 1910, repr., Cooper Square Press, 2001, John Edward Weems, *Peary, The Explorer and the Man*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, MA, 1967, Theon Wright, *The Big Nail: The Story of the Cook-Peary Feud*, John Day Co., NY, 1970, Matthew Henson, *A Black Explorer at the North Pole*, Forward by Robert E., Peary and Introduction by Booker T. Washington, NY, 1912, repr. U. of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, NE, 1989. Several books assert that Peary never reached the Pole. The most complete advocate of this theory is Wally Herbert, *The Noose of Laurels*, Atheneum, NY, 1989. Peary was vindicated in 1990 by Thomas D. Davies and the Foundation for the Art of Navigation by using modern photogrammetry. See Goetzmann, *New Lands, New Men*, repr., TSHA, Austin, TX, 1995, pp. XVIII-XVIV.

There were a number of strivers for the North Pole. Among the best accounts are, Elisha Kent Kane, *Arctic Exploration in the Years 1853, '54, '55*, 2 vols., Childs and Peterson, Philadelphia, PA, 1856. This made him the biggest national hero since John C. Frémont in 1845, as he survived three perilous years locked in the ice and claimed to have discovered the mythical "open polar sea," the Northwest Passage at the top of North America. Also see George Corner, *Dr. Kane of the Arctic Seas*, Temple U. Press, Philadelphia, 1972 and Mark Sawin, *Raising Kane: The Creation and Consequences of Fame in Ante-Bellum America...* Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Texas, Austin, TX, May, 2001. Also see Isaac Hayes, *The Open Polar Sea: Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery Towards the North Pole*, Hurd and Houghton, NY, 1867, Adolphus Greeley, *Three Years of Arctic Service: An Account of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition of 1881-1884 and the Attainment of Farthest North*, 2 vols., Charles Scribner's Sons, NY, 1886. Perhaps the best comment on the Greeley Expedition is *Proceedings of the Proteus Court of Inquiry on the Greeley Relief Expedition of 1883*, GPO, Washington, D.C., 1884. The best Arctic expedition tale of all is Chauncy Loomis, *Weird and Tragic Shores: The Story of Charles Francis Hall, Explorer*, Knopf, NY, 1971 and repr. Modern Library, 2000. Two general books conclude this list, which does not include American explorers around the globe such as Henry Morton Stanley and Nathaniel Palmer of the Antarctic. The books are Clive Holland, ed., *Farthest North: The Quest for the North Pole*, Carroll & Graff, NY, 1994., and Pierre Berton, *The Arctic Grail: The Quest for the Northwest Passage and the North Pole, 1818-1909*, MacLelland and Stewart, NY, 1988.

Finally, it should be clear that exploration has not been without its critics. England's Dr. Johnson deplored it as victimizing native peoples. And such criticism has always followed the European and American explorers and their nationalist writings which some have called "imperial" or "imperialistic." Foremost of those critics in modern times is Edward Said whose diatribe on this subject of "the others" in

Orientalism has made his work a classic. Certain historians of the American West have made exploration one of the prime evils of conquest, while at the same time destroying the interest and romance of western American history. This bibliography of American histories of exploration is intended to bring back not only the adventure and romance of American exploration but its profound reflection of a country and a culture born and guided by the Second Great Age of Discovery.